

ANNUAL REPORT

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

and

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

From Debt To Development Research

The Structural Adjustment and International Finance Cluster opened 1990 with an Approaches To Debt Reduction issue of the IDS Bulletin¹ and closed it with preparations for a SAIFC/SAPHD (Structural Adjustment PhD) workshop on research in progress by Fellows and PhD students held in January 1991.

Between topics addressed ranged from poverty reduction to mineral exploitation and from gender to groundnut prices with governance, environment and wages/employment also figuring. Debt prospects were addressed from the backward perspective of the 1953 (German) debt writedown (a success) and the 1980s series of gambits in respect to middle and low income countries (rarely successful). Teaching expanded from the Structural Adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa Study Seminar begun in 1986 to include a specialised Structural Adjustment PhD.

Co-convenors of SAIFC were Reginald Herbold Green and Christopher Colclough while Charles Harvey served as SAPHD Director and Mike Faber as Study Seminar Director. Cluster members also comprised John Toye, Philip Daniel and Stephany Griffith-Jones.

Debt: Past, Present and Future

The Bulletin on debt reduction² co-edited by Mike Faber and Stephany Griffith-Jones presented a range of participants' (from bankers through debtor and creditor government officials to academics) views on what considerations would inform their institutions' responses to specific debt reduction approaches. Case studies (including ones by Griffith-Jones³ and Reg Green⁴) looked at initial experience with Brady Plan type debt restructurings. They concluded that results were mixed, on balance

positive but in each case inadequate to achieve manageable debt servicing levels compatible with sustained domestic growth or to provide a basis for safe (to borrowers or lenders) re-entry to any but very soft credit markets. The experiences varied with small size, evident inability to pay, low profile non-payment and access to external official development assistance marking the most promising case (Costa Rica) and World Bank/Fund pressure on a hesitant government to initiate a formal debt buy-back and to insist on a 50 per cent discount (as opposed to rolling forward and trying to service in full) another (Philippines).

Mike Faber's ongoing exploration of a feasible route to enough debt reduction to serve creditor and debtor future interests looked backward in order to look forward. The first aspect - published in December 1990 in Finance and Development⁵ - reviewed in the 1953 London Accord writing off the bulk of Germany's inter-war and post-war debt and the 1970 Indonesian debt settlement which (unlike its Paris Club successors) involved major reduction in present value of future payments and achieved sustained Indonesian re-entry into world credit markets. The forward phase - "The Next Plan After Brady"⁶ - sought to identify techniques and activities which might lead to similar "success stories" in the 1990s.

Specific proposals for altering UK, Continental European and Canadian banking regulations to encourage debt reduction agreements were prominent in Stephany Griffith-Jones work. She presented the case for such changes in Canada and Holland as well as in the UK. The 1990 UK Budget included, to an important extent, alterations on the fiscal treatment of private bank loan provisioning of the type her work showed likely to facilitate debt reduction agreements.

Policy, Power, Practice in Adjustment Lending

John Toye's work (with Paul Mosley and Jane Harrigan) has analysed nine cases of 1980s World Bank adjustment loans. Using game theory, it explores the bargaining process and the shifts in relative bargaining position (initially perceived as weak for the Bank) to the stage at which both parties have high vested interests in programme (and future loan flow) survival.

Examination of actual implementation suggests that some domestic interests - notably large-scale agrarian ones in production and/or marketing - can be successful in delaying, diluting or diverting proposed changes.

Examination of post reform results suggests a positive effect on export growth (expected) and a negative one on the share of fixed investment in national expenditure (surprising given association of structural adjustment lending with broader external resource inflows and sap emphasis on increasing production).

The initial programme has resulted in a two volume (overall analytical and case study) publication - Aid and Power: The World Bank and Policy-Based Lending⁷. It was presented in September at IDS in an end of project conference with other presentations at ODC (Washington), Christian Michelsen Institute (Bergen), JICA (Tokyo), ISS (The Hague) and the House of Commons. Follow-up research is in the formulation stages focused on the significance of falling investment rates for the sustainability of growth and resumption of development in structurally adjusting countries.

Real Wages, Incomes, Morale, Employment, Production

Christopher Colclough's work in relation to structural adjustment in SSA focused during 1990 on a cross-country study of nominal and real wages with special attention to civil service pay scales. These showed very sharp real reductions with decreasing real differentials between upper and lower level scales. A paper⁸ on these findings was presented at the January 1991 SAIFC/SAPHD Workshop.

Follow-up study will explore coping and offsetting mechanisms including real increases in allowances and accelerated promotions (if these have occurred), increased acceptability of second incomes and absenteeism (and how general these are). Attempts will be made to estimate their impact on limiting real income falls, on morale and on quality and quantity of work done. A field study of these issues will be carried out in Zambia during 1991. A partially similar study⁹ on civil service wages numbers and capacity was done by Reg Green for a Mozambique Public Service Review as part of his work as Senior Social Policy Advisor to the National Directorate of Planning. It found that the non-uniformed civil service was barely half the size typical of low income countries of 15 million people and that the lower wages were below the (\$40 a month) household absolute poverty line while upper level salaries (\$150-200 a month) were inefficiently low in terms of motivation and retention. While many staff were inadequately trained, funding limitations (and donor preferences for overseas training) deterred systematic personnel upgrading programmes and

the low potential gains from completing them limited public servant willingness to invest time in at least some available avenues of further training. The results included low capacity even relative to ongoing activities much less rehabilitation needs, salary bill crowding out of other needed expenditure and a growing penetration of operational technical assistance (with a ta wage bill over twice the public service civilian payroll) which tended - frequently contrary to intentions - to marginalise Mozambican personnel, erode accountability to Mozambique and create a "donor driven" (as contrasted to "donor fuelled") recurrent, as well as capital and emergency, programme.

From Minerals to Productive Enterprises

The World Bank's long term study contrasts the poor - even by SSA comparative standards - development experience of most African mineral exporters with the potential contribution of mineral exports to revival. Philip Daniel has been commissioned to carry out a mining policy study to identify ways to bridge the gap.¹⁰ This builds on his ESCOR research on adjustment problems of mineral-exporting countries which led to a reflective survey on what has been learned delivered as the 1990 Olin Lecture¹¹ at the Colorado School of Mines and to a contribution to a volume on commodity prices and stabilisation.¹²

Problems of realistic policy adoption and implementation - especially after a decade of low mining company investment and that largely in rich countries - occupied much of his operational and academic work. The former included missions to Papua New Guinea, Mongolia, Tuvalu and Mozambique and the latter an IDS Lecture Series, "Foreign Investment Revisited" including the Chief Economists of Shell and RTZ which appears as number 2 of volume 22 of the IDS Bulletin.¹³

From the Summer of 1991, one of the IDS broad research programmes will focus on productive enterprise and its policy context. One main sub-topical area will be mining including resource mobilisation, legislation, micro and macro projects. Philip Daniel has become Manager of this programme and begun to organise components for it.

Environment and Structural Adjustment: What Interactions?

Both the new environment sub-cluster¹⁴ and SAIFC¹⁵ addressed the topic of environmental sustainability oriented policy with reference to structural

adjustment. Interestingly, the environmental work tested the claim of structural adjustment designers for SAPs and their instruments as a starting point for environmental policy while the SAIFC work began with environmental/ecological issues and then related resultant policy guidelines to macroeconomic framework building.

While environmental concerns are relatively new in the World Bank - and initially a response to Northern environmentalist pressures - they have developed a life of their own. Both IDS bodies of work suggest that deduction of environmental results - let alone policies - from simple examination of macro or micro economic instruments is inherently risky and error prone. The very high contextual and positional elements in ecological realities, outlooks and potential policy construction raise doubts as to how far a macro coordinating framework (SAP) can be used to define policy as opposed to respond to and identify trade-offs and complementarities with ecological strategies and policies largely designed on more ground up and less economic sector organised bases.

Poverty and Social Priorities: The Human Dimension of Adjustment

From the mid-1980s, national, UNICEF, World Bank and IDS attention had begun to focus on the negative (or, perhaps worse, negligible) impact of most SAPs on poor and especially absolutely poor people. The debate shifted from whether SAPs aggravated or slowed falls in education, health and nutrition to what priorities for halting and reversing these falls should be SAP priorities on the basis that the human condition's change was the key test of development progress or regress and the welfare of human beings the key test of the validity or otherwise of development strategies, programmes policies and instruments. This thrust was first clearly articulated at the ECA's 1988 Khartoum "Human Dimension" Conference¹⁶ and has informed much Bank, national and IDS thinking over the past two years.¹⁷

Severe intellectual and practical problems have slowed action. There has been a tendency to equate "social priorities" with health, education and water and to treat them in isolation from short term production gains potential; to detailed poverty mapping not evidently on topographic lines particularly fruitful for identifying ways to enable or assist poor households to become less poor; and to have low faith (demonstrated by

lower resource allocations) in the actual potential of poor households in SSA to produce more.¹⁸

The 50 odd World Bank SDA missions and the governments receiving them have had either very varied or very unclear ideas as to their role and their relation to overall Structural Adjustment strategy. Results range from large, slightly random "add on" projects through well-designed sectoral programmes to restore balance in health-education-water budgeting to loose amalgamations of those basic services plus employment creation via public works not very evidently linked to SAP infrastructure rehabilitation and extension goals. This lack of coherent strategic thrusts related to basic structural adjustment goals and the very limited resources actually disbursed, led Hans Singer in his review of the LTPS to doubt how much change toward a human dimension focus had actually taken place.¹⁹

This may be unfair in that if the human dimension and production by poor people are central goals within structural adjustment they will inform core real wage, employment, rural development, infrastructure and other programmes and policies rather than appearing in separate boxes. As a result of national concern with integrating the struggle to reduce absolute poverty into the main resource allocation and policy selection process, the Mozambique SDA work has taken that direction with the project as such capacity building in evaluation and decision taking plus preparation and evaluation of pilot programmes for more general use once proven. Reg Green has worked with this programme since 1989 and is now Senior Social Policy Advisor to the National Directorate of Planning of Mozambique. His work²⁰ suggests that increasing production by poor persons is practicable, probably essential to rapid GDP or food security recovery and difficult to programme because of data gaps and approaches of national, bilateral, multilateral and ngo personnel. It requires radical switches of resources, personnel and knowledge creation (especially in rural areas) from high household served cost, skilled (often expatriate) personnel and import intensive, limited access to low unit cost, local personnel intensive, basic input and knowledge focused, broad access programmes as attempted in Mozambique's formulation toward a Priority District Programme. A key urban component is maintaining (and if possible partly restoring) real wages which are already below efficiency as well as (at the minimum wage) absolute poverty line levels.

Health, education (including adult education/retraining) and water are related - not separate - priorities. Poor access to health facilities and water is - especially for women - a severe limit on time available to produce or to earn and to a significant extent one relaxable at low cost. But a third component - access to basic infrastructure (including market networks as well as transport routes and basic services) - is both necessary for the first two to be effective and a potential vehicle for substantial, cost and import content efficient labour intensive works employment.

Mozambique is a peculiarly hard case in which to implement this strategy because the economy is so war battered that even with limited post 1986 partial recovery over 80% of imports and almost as high a proportion of overall government spending are dependent on donor finance. Further war, personnel gaps inherited at independence, enforced isolation from normal rural contacts and a massive external operational (rather than advisory) presence interact to slow change.

Closely related work by Reg Green relates to the economic and human impact of war and the requirements for post war livelihood - as well as nutrition and services - rehabilitation in Southern Africa. In 1990 he worked on the third of UNICEF's Children On The Front Line series²¹ which seeks to go beyond estimation of direct and indirect human and output costs and consequential survival requirements to exploring the potential for rebuilding in the slowly emerging context of peace in Southern Africa (for this purpose defined as the ten independent states of the SADCC region). It notes that livelihood rehabilitation - after war, natural disaster or economic wipeouts - falls between normal emergency survival and standard development programming with relatively little specific attention devoted to its articulation or finance available for its implementation. For example, most of the over 10 million refugees and internally dislocated persons of Southern Africa need tools (to clear overgrown fields and rebuild homes as well as to till) and food until harvests can be won, or they cannot afford to leave survival camps. If emergency survival support is phased out without parallel attention to livelihood rehabilitation support there is a real danger that the "peace dividend" will be higher death rates; but conversely that with livelihood rehabilitation surprisingly rapid output (especially crop production), food balance and household food security gains could be achieved.

Governance, Accountability, Participation

In Africa the Organisation of African Unity's growing stress on its African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights and ECA's on good, accessible, participatory governance (notably at its 1988 Khartoum and 1989 Arusha Conference) is taken up under the structural adjustment rubric in the LTPS. Two practical problems have arisen: working definitions (or distinctions) specific enough to be functional and the nature of the relationship between an overall macroeconomic coordinating framework and macro political systems. The issues are not unique to SSA - indeed half of the IDS work in this area relates to Latin America and Central Europe.

Accountability has two aspects - the narrower are reasonably accurate, complete and timely ex ante (budget) and ex post accounts without which reasonable efficiency in prioritisation, allocation, use, evaluation and accountability in the broader sense are not possible. Access (whether to basic services, food security, ability to earn a livelihood, markets or infrastructure) requires a governance system giving priority to it but also one with enough resources (including trained personnel and institutional capacity as well as finance and foreign exchange) and enough competence in their use to act on those priorities. Similarly, participation has economic efficiency (better knowledge, more effort, early warning and correction of missteps) as well as mixed (altering programmes to implement same objectives) and political power (accountability of public service to those it serves more directly) aspects. Equally technical problems are real, e.g. decentralisation to small, under-staffed administrative units by itself may facilitate participation but may also prevent minimum technical competence in programme and project design and - if it involves direct external official and ngo relations to the decentralised system's smaller components - reduce national bargaining power in respect to external personnel and sources of finance.

All of the issues are real and relate to development. Whether all are usefully considered at once in operational contexts appears less evident. All will affect the nature and continuity of structural adjustment programmes (for better and for worse - e.g. continued economic unsucccess or limited results, whatever their cause, are likely to lead to sharp changes of personnel and policy in any political system but especially in a multi-party parliamentary one). Whether all are usefully addressed as part of macro and sectoral economic coordination, balancing and growth promotion

(or in the process of foreign resource mobilisation) is a rather different question.

All of these issues arise in the context of Commodity Aid/Counterpart Funds and several are dealt with in Simon Maxwell's and Reg Green's lead papers to the IDS Conference on those topics.²² They arise more generally in the contexts of national structural adjustment and poverty reduction strategy articulation and operationalisation [sic] - e.g. in Mozambique where Reg Green's work has grappled with them.²³

Stephany Griffith-Jones organised a CIEPLAN Workshop on The role of the state in macro-economic and social sector policies in the Chilean transition to democracy including presentations by Chilean officials and academicians.²⁴ In conjunction with EEC's PHARE (Assistance for Economic Restructuring Poland and Hungary) Programme, she conducted a study of economic reforms and political democratisation in Czechoslovakia to assist in EEC's aid allocation process and to appear as one of a series of country studies appearing in a volume²⁵ edited by Chris Stevens of the Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

Her work also explored the interaction between change in Central Europe and development in the South (including, trade, resource mobilisation and structural adjustment). Presented in seminars and interviews in Canada, Chile and Venezuela, the results of this project are to be published in English by IDRC²⁶ and in Spanish by the CEPAL Review.²⁷

From Groundnut Subsidies Through Gender To Land Reform

Because macroeconomic coordination touches all sectors and efficient action toward priority goals requires examination of a wide range of sectors, issues and instruments much SAI/FC work has been on diverse topics whose common element has been a relationship to overall national structural adjustment exercises whether formally Fund/Bank sponsored or not. Charles Harvey's study of the efficiency of a groundnut grower price subsidy for poverty and child malnutrition alleviation in The Gambia²⁸, Reg Green's contribution to the UNIFEM paper²⁹ on the transformation of access and opportunities for African Women to the Africa Conference convened by the Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation Jan Pronk, Charles Harvey's background study toward monetary system construction in Namibia³⁰ and Reg Green's on land questions in the same country have that common element despite very evident diversity in style, content and approach.

In The Gambia, Charles Harvey's study³¹ indicates producer price subsidies for groundnuts are not an efficient means for distributing income to poor Gambian growers. Major cross-border flows with Senegal turn on relative grower price levels so that the probable main end recipients would be Senegalese growers and Senegambian traders. Parallel UNICEF work on separate households budgets with female primary responsibility for food provisioning and male receipt of main cash crop incomes suggests an even more tenuous connection with child nutrition.

The UNIFEM³² study argues the need for articulated, contextual action programmes to follow up the greater visibility and concern for gender issues in Africa achieved by the UN Decade For Women. It stresses that reduction of women's workload is usually crucial to enabling them to raise output for household use, cash income and/or use of adult education and health responsibilities. In this context it points to the value of accessible pure water and basic health facilities not only for the services they provide but in freeing time now spent watering and caring for sick household members for other uses, including food production and/or cash income generation. The importance of universal access - to education, agricultural extension, production inputs - to women because they are those most likely to be left out with partial coverage is also emphasised.

Reg Green also served on a group of development practitioners and students assisting the Africa Conference held in Limburg in July 1990 under the Co-Chairmanship of President Quett Masire of Botswana and former World Bank President Robert Macnamara to review thinking on SSA recovery and transformation, engage in dialogue on next steps and maintain attention to continuing SSA needs. A small follow-up unit led by the two Co-Chairmen and supported from The Hague is seeking to maintain and expand on the momentum achieved by the initial Conference.

Land Reform - a major theme in "redistribution with growth" thinking in the 1970s - has received relatively little attention in structural adjustment research or programming in SSA in the 1980s. In Namibia the heritage of a century of colonial rule has placed the "Land Question" at the centre of political and economic structural transformation concerns.³³

However, there are four interlocking land questions and a set of interactions among four perspectives (normative, distributional, production viability and ecological sustainability) in addressing them. Land reform

has different implications (including gender and status not only colonial heritage) in different areas. Further, present ranch workers (perhaps 50,000 with 250,000 household members), those who had the grazing rights "before the Germans came" (perhaps 25,000 with 125,000 household members) and landless or near landless would be mixed farmers (perhaps 50,000 with 250,000 household members) are all possible claimants but are largely from quite different households and to a slightly lesser extent communities. Further still, most large ranch land is totally ecologically unsuitable for mixed farming. Without broader rural reform, land reform alone would probably reduce not only output but rural incomes of poor Namibians. Other aspects of rural reform (including higher ranch wages and serious small, mixed farm livelihood supporting policies) could - up to a point - protect farm workers and assist small farmers especially if linked to land development. Rural development to raise overall productivity (and rebalance it by reversing interventions for large units and livestock and against small and crops) is probably necessary, but not sufficient to enhance present ranch working households and small mixed farming household livelihoods whatever action is taken on land reform however defined. All simple one dimensional solutions appear to be highly problematic as to production, distribution and the livelihoods of the majority of Namibian households with significant wage, cash sale and/or self-provisioning incomes from farming. Political and technical dialogue in Namibia - now often in parallel, not interactive, channels is intended to culminate in a national conference in June 1991 with strategic decisions by the end of the year.

Developing Structural Adjustment Research And Training

Charles Harvey spent much of 1990 organising a research and training programme focusing on applied aspects of structural adjustment praxis and results in several SSA countries. Financed by SIDA it centres on seven DPhil students from Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe who are doing initial reading, reflection and research design at IDS; will undertake field research in their own countries and return to IDS to write up over the late 1990-1993 period, Working with them are five IDS Fellows (Charles Harvey, John Teye, Christopher Colclough, Stephany Griffith-Jones and Mike Faber) both supervising the students during all three phases and carrying out related research of their own.

SAIFC/SAPHD held a joint workshop in January 1991 with initial thesis proposals from the SAPHD students as well as papers by Reg Green³⁴, Stanley Please³⁵, Christopher Colclough³⁶ and Robin Mearns³⁷. Another is planned for a later phase of the PhD cycle.

Domestic And External SAP Practitioner Interaction

IDS held its 5th Study Seminar on "Structural Adjustment and Transformation In Sub-Saharan Africa" jointly with the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank in August 1990. Directors were Mike Faber and Stanley Please and Co-Directors Reg Green and Cadman Mills. Other Fellows participating included Teddy Brett, Martin Godfrey, Richard Jolly, Naila Kabeer, Michael Lipton, Hubert Schmitz and Adrian Wood.

Over 1986-1990, over 135 civil servants, academics and development agency personnel - about 75 per cent from SSA - have participated in these seminars on the structural problems of SSA in the 1980s and their causes; the principles and practice of Structural Adjustment at macro plus key thematic (especially environmental, poverty, gender) and sectoral (especially agriculture and productive enterprise) levels; and the particular results, problems and potentials as seen from the perspective of different countries and institutions.

Over the period the nature of the dialogue has gradually shifted from querying the overall nature of structural adjustment to issues of specific content and subsequent ("transformation") steps while thematic issues (including agriculture beyond purely price questions) have become much more prominent.

EDI and ODA financed the bulk of the 1986-1990 participants. In 1991 ODA plus several other agencies will support the 6th Study Seminar which for the first time will have an African Director as well as Co-Director.

The Structural Adjustment of Structural Adjustment?

Since its launching by the World Bank in 1981 with special reference to Sub-Saharan Africa, structural adjustment has undergone substantial modification which by the Long Term Policy Study amounted to massive structural adjustment or transformation. Some of these issues were addressed by Reg Green in his lead review of LTPS in the UN's Africa Recovery journal.³⁸ The four most basic are: a.) setting rapid regaining

regaining of GDP growth in excess of population growth as a sine qua non for sustained structural adjustment; b.) setting human investment and infrastructure rehabilitation and expansion targets which require sharp increases both in public sector investment and in the ratio of government recurrent plus capital expenditure to GDP; c.) re-introducing the "basic human needs"/"eradication of absolute poverty" priorities of the Macnamara era as essential both to economic and to social/political stability (a more general Bank shift highlighted by Poverty as theme of 1990 World Development Report); d.) lengthening time period, raising debt write-off and enhancing net external resource inflows needed to sustain structural adjustment because SAP experience has been that even if policy targets are met, and both domestic and overall output performance respond well, progress toward external current account (excluding grant aid) balance at levels of fixed capital formation adequate to secure structural transformation is virtually always both slower and smaller than projected.

The transformation of structural adjustment from a macroeconomic management framework designed to restore key external, fiscal and price balances primarily by increases in supply induced primarily by market determined price changes to a more complex, longer term, coordination frame for all economic and most key social and governance policies has - especially since 1985 - become very rapid. This has begun to pose its own problems; at least unless Structural Adjustment is to become a synonym for Development in Sub-Saharan Africa and to lose its more precise coordinative, balancing, macro/sectoral, supply side focus.

That tendency is increased by every lobby wishing and pushing to have its goals incorporated into structural adjustment "goals" on the assumption that where Structural Adjustment Programmes exist that which is not included in them won't get done. The Bank has responded - notably in the poverty, gender and environment cases by adding on various special programmes at times looking like side shows and at times like Christmas tree decorations rather than integral parts of structural adjustment's main focuses. A somewhat similar imprecision appears to be emerging under the governance/participation/capacity building rubric. However, some of the 54 odd (some very odd!) Social Dimensions of Adjustment exercises do appear to be coming integrated (in quite divergent ways) in the structural adjustment processes (including resource mobilisation and allocation whether directly through SDA or Social Priority rubric projects or not) of their respective countries.

Two different questions appear to be being confused:

1. in the context of Structural Adjustment as an economic policy coordinating/supply expanding frame, do all priority resource allocations need to be included and - therefore - should environmental, gender, poverty issues be viewed in the SA context with attention to their output potential and input requirements?
2. are the techniques and insights of structural adjustment particularly suitable entry points for all priority issues, e.g. environment?

There seems little reason not to answer the first question Yes. It is the second that is more doubtful. In IDS' Environment work Robin Mearns has argued³⁹ that Structural Adjustment and the Bank's new-found interest in the environment do provide opportunities to further environmental research and protection but that the standard toolkit of structural adjustment is gravely inadequate for those purposes. Complementarily Reg Green has argued⁴⁰ for an initial ground-up contextual approach to environmental policy building with interaction with overall structural adjustment frames primarily at the subsequent coordinating stage. While similar issues of specific to general and general to specific parallel iteration and their relative weights exist in respect to poverty⁴¹ that is an area in which applied economists have more experience and - at least up to a point - more directly usable economic analytical and policy tools exist.

Notes

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4. 'Brady and the Philippines: What Progress?', IDS Bulletin, Vol 21, No. 2, April, 1990
5. 'Renegotiating Official Debts'
6. World Development, December, 1990
7. Toye, Mosley and Harrigan, Routledge, London, 1991
8. 'Differential Progress Towards Schooling for All - A Cross-Country Analysis'
9. Partially set out in 'Poverty, Rehabilitation and Economic Transformation: The Case of Mozambique', IDS/ISS Seminar: 'Structural Adjustment and Macro-economic Problems in Developing Countries', The Hague, 1-2 November, 1990
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13. April 1991
14. 'Environmental Implications of Structural Adjustment: Reflections on Scientific Method', IDS Discussion Paper 284, February, 1991
15. 'Structural Adjustment and National Ecology Strategies: What Interactions? Notes From Namibia' and 'Ecology, Poverty and Sustainability: Environmental Portents and Prospects in Rural Namibia'
16. 'Towards A Human Focused Approach To Socio-Economic Recovery And Development In Africa', The Khartoum Declaration at the UN/ECA International Conference on The Human Dimension of Africa's Economic Recovery and Development, and 'The Human Dimension As The Test Of And A Means Of Achieving Africa's Economic Recovery And Development:

Reweaving the Social Fabric, Restoring the Broken Pot',
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17. Discussed in 'Reduction of Absolute Poverty: A Priority Structural Adjustment', SAIFC/SAPHD Workshop, 'Structural Adjustment in SSA', Institute of Development Studies, Falmer, January 18-19, 1991
18. ibid
19. 'Reading Between the Lines', comment on World Bank Report 1989, (ODI) Development Policy Review Vol 8, No 2, June, 1990
20. Most recently - 'The Struggle Against Absolute Poverty In Mozambique', SDA Project, National Directorate of Planning, Republic of Mozambique, January, 1991
21. 1987, 1989, 1991, UNICEF, New York
22. S. Maxwell, 'The Developmental Uses of Counterpart Funds' and R. H. Green, 'Commodity Aid and Counterpart Funds in Africa: Macro-Economic Aspects'
23. 'Reduction of Absolute Poverty: A Priority Structural Adjustment', SAIFC/SAPHD Workshop, 'Structural Adjustment in SSA', Institute of Development Studies, Falmer, January 18-19, 1991
24. Coleccion CIEPLAN, March 1991
25. ODI Development Policy Studies series, forthcoming 1991
26. 'Changes in Eastern Europe: Implications for developing countries', IDRC-MR 276e, November, 1990
27. 'cambios en Europa Oriental: implicancias para America Latina', September, 1991
28. 'Improvements in Farmer Welfare in The Gambia: Groundnut Price Subsidies and Alternatives', IDS Discussion Paper 277, 1990
29. 'From Stabilisation To Transformation: The Way Ahead For African Women' an Issues Paper, Maastricht Conference on Africa, July 2-4, 1990
30. Monetary Independence For Namibia (editor, with Jan Isaksen) NEPRU, Windhoek, 1990
31. 'Improvements in Farmer Welfare in The Gambia: Groundnut Price Subsidies and Alternatives', IDS Discussion Paper 277, 1990
32. 'From Stabilisation To Transformation: The Way Ahead For African Women' an Issues Paper, Maastricht Conference on Africa, July 2-4, 1990
33. R. H. Green, 'The Land Question: Restitution, Reconciliation and Livelihood - Some political economic and agro economic issues' from a seminar held by AGRECONA, Windhoek, 8 December, 1990
34. Reduction of Absolute Poverty: A Priority Structural Adjustment'

35. 'From Structural Adjustment To Structural Transformation'
36. 'Differential Progress Towards Schooling for All - A Cross-Country Analysis'
37. 'Environmental Implications of Structural Adjustment: Reflections on Scientific Method'
38. 'The long road to development', Reactions to Bank Study, Africa Recovery, Vol 4, No 1, April-June 1990
39. 'Environmental Implications of Structural Adjustment: Reflections on Scientific Method', IDS Discussion Paper 284, February, 1991
40. 'Structural Adjustment and National Ecology Strategies: What Interactions? Notes From Namibia' and 'Ecology, Poverty and Sustainability: Environmental Portents and Prospects in Rural Namibia'
41. See 'Reduction of Absolute Poverty: A Priority Structural Adjustment', SAI/FC/SAPHD Workshop, 'Structural Adjustment in SSA', Institute of Development Studies, Falmer, January 18-19, 1991